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The fragment of country depicted by the map lies on the edge of an important section of the Shoan plateau which extends in the form of an elongated oval north-eastwards from Addis Ababa and forms the watershed between the drainage systems of the Awash and the Blue Nile. The Asmara road uses this convenient high causeway from Addis Ababa to a little beyond Debra Berhan, and would go on using it if this were possible, for the road was made to follow the plateau wherever it was flat enough. North of Debra Berhan, however, the country is tremendously cut up by deep ravines and no level plateau remains. The road is therefore forced down, at Debra Sina, to lower levels (as happens again in several places on the way to Asmara). The higher portions of this plateau lie at well over 9000 feet and constitute an undulating tract, sometimes almost flat, sometimes rather hilly, where differences in level amount to a few hundred feet only. But, on both sides, the plateau breaks up in the most spectacular fashion. To the north-west lie a series of gorges, all belonging to the Blue Nile system, opening up with extreme abruptness along an irregular front, as will be seen in the map. To the east, the plateau terminates in some places at the main escarpment which bounds the Danakil plains, an impressive drop of several thousand feet along a fault, well seen at Ankober and Debra Sina. But farther south the simplicity of this escarpment is disguised by certain tributaries of the Hawash system which, eating their way into the plateau, have formed gorges as striking as those of the Blue Nile system. These gorges, cutting back continually, must in time complete the destruction of the plateau, and produce, by the interdigitation of their deeply entrenched headstreams, the confused type of scenery already observable farther north.

The geological structure of the plateau, on which the local landscape, and especially the peculiar type of gorge developed, directly depends, seems to be extremely simple and almost the same as that which occurs over vast areas of central and northern Ethiopia. As long ago as 1870 the step-like hill sides and tremendous gorges of the Magdala area were well described by Blanford,[1] who had accompanied the Napier Expedition. He compared Abyssinian scenery with that of the western Deccan and the Western Ghats of India, but remarked that in the case of Abyssinia the special features of this type of landscape were exaggerated. He drew attention to the hill-forts or "ambas" of Abyssinia, closely corresponding to features which had likewise been used in India as forts.

Writing of the Jitta gorge near Magdala, Blanford says:

> ". . . we came suddenly on the brink of the mighty chasm in which the Jitta river runs, and to which all the minor valleys converge. Of all the grand scenery met with in Abyssinia, none equalled this wonderful gorge. It is 3500 feet deep, and looks scarcely a mile across. The sides are extremely steep, in places nearly perpendicular. The horizontal beds on both sides appear to correspond exactly; half-way down there is a well-marked terrace, evidently formed by the same bed, on both sides of the river. The bedding is very distinct.
>
> It is to be regretted that all those geologists who disbelieve in the power

[1] Blanford, 'The Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia,' p. 86, London, 1870.

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Ababa and Debra Berhan remains Galla country. The Amharas have re-occupied the region immediately around Debra Berhan, their southern limit corresponding roughly with the edge of the sheet; but the churches built to meet their needs (including the new St. Gabriel already once mentioned) are comparatively few and far between, a confirmation of the recent date of the re-colonization.

The Gallas remained in possession of the plateau country until the early nineteenth century when Sahele Selassie, king of Shoa, began to push them back. The half-dozen hill-top forts shown on the sheet almost certainly date from this time, or were reoccupied then. The capital of Shoa since the eighteenth century had been Ankober, on the edge of the great eastern escarpment, some 20 miles east of Debra Berhan. But Sahele Selassie, as part of his anti-Galla campaign founded, in about 1830, a new capital at Angolala in the midst of Galla country. He thereafter divided his time between Angolala and Ankober. A largely disused track, still well-defined in most parts, is shown crossing the sheet from Angolala in an easterly direction; this was evidently an old route joining the two capitals. Harris,[1] who conducted a British Mission to Sahele Selassie in 1841–42, visited Angolala which then contained four or five hundred huts. He also describes Sahele Selassie's two-storied "palace," built by an Albanian[2] visitor, standing on an eminence—which however the king would not inhabit, from fear of earthquakes. Angolala continued to be used by Sahele Selassie's son, king Haile Malakot, and the great Menelik, who was Haile Malakot's son, had been born here in 1843—just after the time of Harris's visit.

Not much remains now to show that Angolala was so recently the twin capital of Shoa; but the site of Sahele Salassie's house, an artificial mound crowning the ridge, is easily identified and commands a fine view of the countryside. Inside the mound is a vaulted cellar, its masonry showing clear signs of European workmanship, as also does the central stone-built element of the local church of Kidane Meheret. This work is now exposed to view as the church was burnt down during the Italian occupation. Angolala remains a well-populated area, but only a very few huts now stand among the remains of defensive walls near the old royal residence.

The young Menelik, up to the age of twelve, must have known all this country well. But at that time (1855) the newly crowned emperor Theodore, whose ambition was the unification of Ethiopia after a century and a half of anarchy and internal strife, came down from the north with the object of subjecting Shoa to his personal rule. He defeated king Haile Malakot on the plains of Atakilt, the irrigated area just south-east of Debra Berhan. Haile Malakot died immediately after the battle, and Menelik was carried away captive by Theodore—who, however, afterwards treated him as a son rather than a prisoner. For some years Menelik followed in the emperor's train, moving with him from Gondar to Debra Tabor and then to the hill-fortress of Magdala, Theodore's last capital and later the scene of his undoing. Several years before Napier's siege of 1868 Menelik had escaped from Magdala during, it is said, one of Theodore's periodic orgies. A youth in

[1] Harris, 'The Highlands of Aethiopia,' London, 1844.

[2] It is much more likely that Harris meant an Armenian.

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whom many hard things have been said by prejudiced travellers, play so essential a part in almost every aspect of rural life that the community simply cannot be imagined without them. Christenings, funerals and periodic commemorations of the dead are ceremonies of enormous importance which must, of course, be conducted by priests, and their presence is deemed desirable at the higher forms of civil marriage. The *mahabar* or Private Communion, an old social institution deeply rooted among these people, cannot be held unless priests are present, nor can oaths be sworn, or public inquiries made, without them. The traditional customs of the Ethiopian Church, based on those of the Copts but strongly influenced by Judaistic practices, still retain their hold, some would say a strangle-hold, over the rural population. Many long fasts are rigorously observed, besides weekly ones on Wednesdays and Fridays; so are a multiplicity of feast-days when no work may be done, though Saturday is not always observed, as it used to be, as a workless day equivalent to Sunday.

I have already spoken of the large number of churches scattered over this area, especially in the northern half of the sheet, among the gorges. When first wandering about the district I had no idea they were so numerous. But while making the survey I continually came across new ones, and the last two, those nearest the north-east and north-west corners of the sheet, were discovered only while filling in the final detail. They brought the total for this small area up to twenty. They are not elaborate buildings, nor do they conform to the ordinary western conception of a church. They are indeed round huts, quite uninfluenced by the rectangular form (deriving from a very ancient tradition) which exists in the northern part of the country.[1] Some are built in masonry, some in mud-and-stick, and the slightly more pretentious have an outer colonnade of wooden uprights supporting the edge of the roof. Inside one finds two concentric passages surrounding the *makdas*, or Holy of Holies, which only priests may enter. In the distance one can usually recognize a country church by its fine conical thatched roof, which is much bigger than that of any ordinary hut, and is crowned by a sort of double cone carrying a complicated cross, often ornamented with ostrich eggs.

Of the twenty churches, seven were dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Mariam), four to St. George (Ghiorghis), and three to the Archangel Michael, and these are, in general, the most popular dedications. The principal church in Debra Berhan was a Selassie (Trinity), that of Angolala a Kidane Meheret (Covenant of Mercy). There was one St. John, one St. Gabriel, and one each dedicated to the most famous of Ethiopian saints—"Abo" and Tekla Haymanot. Splendid sites have been chosen for most of these churches, the chief consideration having been, it would seem, visibility from afar. The plateau churches are invariably raised on a conspicuous ridge or hill-top. Many are beautifully situated on the shelves in the gorges, or overlooking these. Some again are placed on the extreme edge of a gorge—such are Saria Mikael in the north-east of the sheet and the old St. George, just north of Debra Berhan, now unfortunately moved nearer the town (both sites are marked on the map).

Perhaps the most striking of all these sites is that of Iteghe Mariam, to the

[1] D. R. Buxton, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia," *Archaeologia*, 92 (1947) 1–42.

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the linguistic sense at least, an eastward thrust of Sudanese negroes. In Ethiopia proper many Shankalla, negroes brought as slaves from the Blue Nile country, have propagated both as a slave population and through mixture. In Italian Somaliland, it is said that some of the slave tribes subservient to the Somalis speak Bantu. The speech of the Wattas may also be neither Hamitic nor Semitic.

The study of the physical anthropology of this ethnologically and historically complex region may be said to have barely begun; nevertheless it has progressed far enough to warrant reasonably accurate statements as to the racial characters of the more numerous and better known peoples.[60] Before proceeding further, it may be well to state that all of the peoples of this "Hamitic" area, whether Hamitic or Semitic in speech, represent a blend in varying proportions between Mediterraneans of several varieties, especially of the tall, Atlanto-Mediterranean group, and negroes. Other elements include, of course, the Veddoid brought in solution from southern Arabia; there is also a possibility of traces of dilute pygmy and Bushman blood in southwestern Ethiopia and Somaliland, although neither of these has been proved. Needless to say, the Gallas and Amharas have mixed with each other greatly in the regions in which they have been in contact; both the Amharas and Gallas have absorbed the earlier Cushitic agricultural peoples in great numbers. The most important single influence has been the infiltration of negroes, through the slave trade, into the entire Ethiopian plateau region. So extensive has this infiltration been that it is unlikely that a single genetic

[60] The principal works on the physical anthropology of the living in this region are:
Castro, L. de, *Nella Terra dei Negus*, vol. 2, pp. 342–477.
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10: Barkhuus D-5 (1944-1945) 1947 MP5 Amhara MP5

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[p. 728]

[pp. 724-728 are omitted]

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NOTES

CHAPTER 1: *Introduction*

1. E. Ullendorf, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* (London: Taylor's [Foreign] Press, 1955), p. 25.
2. Elsewhere I have discussed the specific question of the influence of Amhara culture on Ethiopian national politics. Cf. "Ethiopia: Identity, Authority, and Realism," *Political Culture and Political Development*, ed. Lucien Pye and Sidney Verba (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
3. Augustus Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia* (London: Methuen and Co., 1901), p. 3.
4. Cf. Abbā Yā'qob Gabra Iyasus, *Matsehāfa Sawāsew Za-Ge'ez* (Asmara: Tipografia Francescana, 1920 E.C.•), pp. 288 ff.; Mars'ē Hāzan Walda Qirqos, *Yāmāriññā Sawāsew* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Press, 1948 E.C.), pp. 215–18; Alamāyhu Mogas, *Maik'a Ityopyā* (Asmara: Kokaba Ṭsebāh Press, 1952 E.C.), pp. 10 ff.

   For an introduction to the European literature on *qenē*, cf. M. M. Moreno, *Raccolta di Qenē* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1935); also Enrico Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Milan: Nuova Accademia Editrice, 1956), pp. 154–56, 226–32.
5. Alamāyhu Mogas, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
6. Cerulli, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
7. Alamāyhu Mogas, *Sawāsew Ge'ez* (Addis Ababa: Tasfā Press, 1950 E.C.), p. 117.
8. Alamāyhu Mogas, *Malk'a Ityopyā*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
9. This subject is treated at greater length in D. Levine, "Ambiguity and Modernity" (paper presented at the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, Wash-

• E.C. refers to the Ethiopian calendar dating, which runs seven or eight years behind the European calendar.

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ington, D.C., September 7, 1962; printed in the *Journal of the Ethiopian Students of North America*, IV, No. 1, 3–20).

10. H. Nakamura, *The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1960), p. 484.
11. On the concept of primordial sentiments cf. Edward Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil Ties," *British Journal of Sociology*, VIII (June, 1957), 130–45; and Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," *Old Societies and New States*, ed. C. Geertz (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 105–57.
12. G. Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, ed. G. Almond, J. Coleman, and L. Pye (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), esp. pp. 36–38.
13. *Op. cit.*, pp. 17–21.
14. Richard Weaver, "Individuality and Modernity," *Essays on Individuality*, ed. Felix Morley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), p. 77.

CHAPTER 2: *The Legacy of Manz and Gondar*

1. Stephen Wright, "Ethiopian Literature," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. More detailed descriptions of the literature of the period may be found in Enrico Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Milan: Nuova Accademia Editrice, 1956), chaps. iii–vii; and Jean Doresse, *L'empire du Prêtre-Jean* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1957), II, chaps. xii, xiv.
2. Cf. Otto Jäger, *Aethiopische Miniaturen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1957); and *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris: UNESCO, 1961).
3. A revised edition of the English translation of Alvares' valuable manuscript has recently been published, and will be the text referred to in later references: *The Prester John of the Indies*, ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford (2 vols.; Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1961).
4. Job Ludolphus, *A New History of Ethiopia*, trans. J. P. Gent (2d ed.; London, 1684), p. 189.
5. Cf. Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia* (London: Lalibela House, 1961), p. 406.
6. Carlo Conti-Rossini, ed. and trans., "Iyāsu I, Re d'Etiopia e martire," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XX, 107.

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7. This disparaging image of Dāwit III has been perpetuated in the contemporary verse drama, *Selāsāwi Dāwit*, by the Shoan author Makonnen Endālkātchaw.
8. Sir Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia* (2 vols.; London: Methuen and Co., 1928), II, 453.
9. This translation was made from the Italian translation in Cerulli, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–32.
10. Ababa Ayčhēh, *Bileẓho* (Addis Ababa: Tensā'ē Za-Gubā'ē Press, 1948 E.C.).

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11. The letter was made available to the author through the courtesy of an Ethiopian informant. The text paraphrases Psalm 79.
12. This and the following section draw in part on material which has been published elsewhere, together with other material on Manz not included here. Cf. D. Levine, "On the History and Culture of Manz," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, IX (Spring 1964), 204–11.
13. The boundaries of Manz proper include the Mofar River in the south, the Adabāy and Wānchet rivers in the west, the Qechenē River in the north, and in the east a long chain of mountains which pour forth the waters that drain across Manz and which divide it from the lowlands of Efrātā, Gedem, and Qawat. Accurate maps of Manz and its boundaries are not yet available.
14. Their itineraries are described in Isenberg and Krapf, *Journals* (London, 1843); and Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie* (Rouen, 1886).
15. A. Caquot, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel," *Annales d'Éthiopie*, II (1957), 91–122.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
18. Takla Ṣādeq Makuriyā, *Ya-Ityopyā Tārik Ka-Aṣē Lebna Dengel Eska Aṣe Tēwodros* (Addis Ababa: Tensā'ē Za-Gubā'ē Press, 1949 E.C.), p. 20.
19. Cerulli, *op. cit.*, pp., 101–3.
20. Doresse, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
21. Chahab ad-Din Ahmad, *Futuh el-Habacha*, trans. D'Abbadie and Paulitschke (Paris, 1898), p. 342.
22. Cf. D. Levine, "On the History and Culture of Manz," *op. cit.*, p. 208.
23. This account of Nagāssi, like the accounts of his descendants which follow, has been constructed from a variety of sources, which, while differing in details, agree on the essential points presented here unless otherwise indicated. Oral traditions were obtained from Amhara informants in Manz and Addis Ababa. The chief written sources consulted include: Heruy Walda Selassie, an unpublished and untitled manuscript on the history of Ethiopia (part of which was published in his *Wā-Zēmā* [Addis Ababa, 1923 E.C.]); Takla Ṣādeq Makuriyā, *op. cit.*; Tādassa Za-Waldē, *Ya-Abētohun Yā'qob Tewelddennā Aṣher Tārik* (Addis Ababa: Berhānennā Salām Press, 1948 E.C.); Guèbrè Sellassié, *Chronique du Règne de Ménélik II* (2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1930–32); Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa* (3 vols.; Rome, 1886–87); Major W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; London, 1844); Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*; and Soleillet, *op. cit.*
24. The related claim set forth by his dynasty—that Nagāssi was in the direct line of descent from Lebna Dengel—is less universally acknowledged by Ethiopians. It is still a controversial question whether or not Nagāssi was actually related to Lebna Dengel and, if so, by what route.

    The official genealogy traces the descent line as follows: Lebna Dengel—Yā'qob—Segew Qāl—Warada Qāl—Lebsa Qāl—Nagāssi. This is the account set forth in Takla Ṣādeq Makuriyā's history. The other Shoan authors who

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173 175 deal with this matter present different pictures, however. Blāttēngētā Heruy and Guèbrè Sellassié telescope the genealogy: Yā'qob—Segew Qāl—Nagāssi. Tādassa Za-Waldē, on the other hand, leaves the question open; he identifies Segew Qāl as one of Yā'qob's sons, and refers to Nagāssi as father of the Shoan Dynasty, but affirms nothing concerning a connection between Segew Qāl and Nagāssi.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that none of these versions was reported to European travelers in the nineteenth century prior to the ascendance of Menelik. According to information given Major Harris by Shoan informants in the 1840's, Nagāssi inherited royal blood through his mother, who was said to be a granddaughter of "a daughter of the House of Solomon." Four decades later Soleillet was told still another story, namely, that "the kings of Shoa are now of the House of David, heirs of Solomon, cousins of Christ" not through Nagāssi, but by virtue of the marriage of his great-great-grandson, Asfā Wassan, to a relative of the imperial family at Gondar. Cecchi, finally, mentions none of these legitimizing affiliations.

113 25. Heruy manuscript, p. 19.

26. The latter version is given by Cecchi.

27. James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (5 vols.; London, 1790), III, 255–56.

28. Cecchi, *op. cit.*, I, 241.

29. Takla Ṭsādeq, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

30. Harris, *op. cit.*, III, 9.

31. Takla Ṭsādeq, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

32. Harris, *op. cit.*, III, 12.

[114] 33. Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 301. Heruy's account of the rebellion of Matako is considerably different. We are following Harris and Krapf here since they were virtually contemporaneous with the events, and would have no particular reason not to record them faithfully.

34. Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

35. Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 133.

36. Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (Paris, 1868), p. 173.

[103] 37. The word "Manz" (or "Manzeh"), according to local clergy, stems from a Ge'ez expression which means "land on which Christ's blood was sprinkled."

38. Ludolphus, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

39. The architecture and layout of the imperial compound are described in Monti della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar* (Rome: Società Italiana Arti Grafiche, 1938).

40. On the role of the *abuna*, cf. below, chap. v.

41. C. Poncet, "A Voyage to Ethiopia," *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1949), p. 61.

42. This is what has been called an orthogenetic, as distinguished from a heterogenetic, pattern of cultural development. Cf. Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III, No. 1, 53–73.

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43. E. Combes and M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie* (4 vols.; Paris, 1843), III, 342, call Gondar "une ville de plaisirs." Eduard Rüppell, *Reise in Abessinien* (2 vols.; Frankfurt am Main, 1838–40), II, 190, speaks of the Gondarēs' "grenzenlosen Liederlichkeit."
44. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 104.
45. Rüppell, *op. cit.*, II, 132.
46. Isenberg and Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
47. "Menelik's conquests," of course, were won for the most part by trusted generals, who were men from all parts of Ethiopia.
48. The figure is from a local census made by the Gondar Public Health College around 1958.
49. The Ethiopian Election Board listed 88,000 families and a registration of 35,000 voters in Manz in 1957. The figures are probably exaggerated.
50. The regional association will be discussed further in chapter vii.
51. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," *Old Societies and New States*, ed. C. Geertz (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 105–57.
52. "Ansprache an die Mitglieder des Vereins B'nai B'rith," *Gesammelten Werke*, XVII, 51–53.
53. *Ibid.*, and *Collected Papers*, V, 174.

CHAPTER 3: *The World of the Amhara Peasant*

1. Ernest Luther, *Ethiopia Today* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958).
2. The general methodological problem involved here is discussed in Hugo Engelmann, "The Activity Bias of Ethnography and the History of Society," *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (July, 1960), 158–63.
3. The TAT cards designed for use in Ethiopia were originally prepared by Dr. Edith Lord, US/AID, in connection with her own research there. The data on which the present study draws were obtained by administering twenty-five cards to a sample of twenty young Amhara in Manz—seventeen males and three females—ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-five years.
4. Cf. Samuel Alamayahu, "The Game of Gänna," *University College of Addis Ababa Ethnological Society Bulletin*, No. 9 (1959), pp. 9–28.
5. Cf. Akalou Wolde Michael, *"Buhe," UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin*, No. 7 (1957), pp. 57–64.
6. Simon Messing, "Group Therapy and Social Status in the Zar Cult of Ethiopia," *American Anthropologist*, LX (December, 1958), 1120–26. More extensive discussion of the *zār* may be found in Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1957), and Michel Leiris, *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Éthiopiens de Gondar* (Paris: Plon, 1958).
7. This section draws on material previously published in D. Levine, "On the

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• 113 Conceptions of Time and Space in the Amhara World View," *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960), pp. 223–28.

8. Cf. Allan Hoben, "The Role of Ambilineal Descent Groups in Gojjam Amhara Social Organization" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1963), pp. 140 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, chaps. ii and v.
10. On Amhara attitudes toward nationhood cf. D. Levine, "Ethiopia: Identity, Authority, and Realism," *Political Culture and Political Development*, ed. L. Pye and S. Verba (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
11. Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara," pp. 63–67, presents a detailed analysis of the ethnic hierarchy in Ethiopia "as it exists in the minds of most Amhara." Briefly summarized, this hierarchy consists, in order of descending status, of the (Christian) Tigre; Christianized Galla; Muslim and pagan Galla, and other sedentary Cushitic-speaking peoples who were self-governing prior to Menelik's conquests (Kaffa, Wollamo, etc.); peoples identified chiefly as manual laborers (Falasha, Gurage); and occupational hunters, pastoral nomads, and Negroid ex-slaves.
12. This subject is discussed in greater detail in D. Levine, "Ethiopia: Identity, Authority, and Realism," *op. cit.*
13. Marcel Griaule, "Le travail en Abyssinie," *Revue internationale du travail*, XXIII (February, 1931), p. 8.
14. This ideal is discussed at greater length in D. Levine, "The Concept of Masculinity in Ethiopian Culture" (paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Symposium of the Committee on Human Development, The University of Chicago, May 11, 1963: to be published in the *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*).
15. *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954), chap. iv; and *The Little Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), chap. vi.
16. Cf. Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara," p. 540.
17. Harris observed that "the Abyssinian scribe does not hold the pen of a ready writer; and the dilatory management of his awkward implement is attended with gestures and attitudes the most ridiculous." Also, "Few of the priesthood understand the art of writing, and all regard the exercise of the pen as shameful and derogatory." *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (3 vols.; London, 1844), III, 15, 182.
18. Cf. Benjamin Paul, ed. *Health, Culture, and Community* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955).
19. See a series of articles beginning in the *Ethiopian Herald*, Addis Ababa, June 27, 1960: "Let the Victim Speak of the Magnitude of Ethiopian Medicine."
20. A long-term study of this and related problems is currently being carried out under the supervision of the US/AID Public Health Section in Ethiopia.
21. For general analyses of the nature of political life which support this assertion, cf. Edward Shils, *The Torment of Secrecy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956);

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and Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), esp. chap. ii.

CHAPTER 4: *The Emerging Adolescent*

1. Cf. Richard Pankhurst, "Menelik and the Foundation of Addis Ababa," *Journal of African History*, II, No. 1 (1961), 103–17.
2. Cf. Mircea Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth: the Religious Meanings of Initiation in Human Culture* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958).
3. For illustration of this phenomenon in a wide variety of societies as well as a highly advanced interpretation of it, cf. S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956). For additional examples cf. H. Ammar, *Growing Up in an Egyptian Village* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954); and J. Stoetzel, *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).
4. Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1957).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 436.
6. In addition to Messing, the literature on betrothal and marriage among the Amhara includes Abebe Ambatchew, "Betrothal among the Säwan Amharas," *UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin*, No. 5 (June, 1956), pp. 5–12; J. I. Eadie, *An Amharic Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), pp. 75–79; C. H. Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home* (London: Sheldon Press, 1933).
7. Messing, *op. cit.*, pp. 459–60.
8. The conceptualization of "identity" used here follows the work of Erik Erikson, cf. "The Problem of Ego Identity," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, IV (January, 1956), 58–121; reprinted in *Identity and Anxiety*, ed. M. Stein, J. Vidich, and D. White (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).
9. Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), p. 247.
10. Tadesse Tereffe, "Progress, Problems and Prospects in Ethiopian Education," *Ethiopia Observer*, VIII, No. 1 (1964), 12.
11. In response to which, the government adjusted the passing grade so as to permit a larger number of students to pass the examination.
12. The exact composition of this sample was as shown in the tabulation on page 294.
13. Haile Fida, "High School and Educational Complications," *Ethiopian Herald* (Addis Ababa), August 2, 1960.
14. Thus, one American school director was celebrated by an Ethiopian student during the graduation ceremonies one year as follows:
    "When we came here, we were Tigreans, Gallas, Amharas, and so forth. Now, thanks to the director, we leave as Ethiopians, and as alumni of this school."
15. Perham, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

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Name of School[a]	Enrolment[b]	Grades Surveyed	No.		
			Total	Male	Female
I. Tafari Makonnen School	320	11th and 12th	60	60	0
II. Haile Selassie I Secondary School	230	12th	47	47	0
III. Menelik II School	245	12th	15	15	0
IV. General Wingate Secondary School	325	12th	58	58	0
V. Madhane Alem School	160	12th	21	21	0
VI. Empress Mennen School	220	12th	19	0	19
VII. The English School[c]	.....	11th and 12th	9	7	2
VIII. Madhane Alem School (Harar)	450	12th	23	23	0
IX. Haile Selassie I School (Gondar)	135	11th	45	45	0
X. Theological Academy	100	12th	13	13	0
XI. Commercial School	335	12th	42	31	11
XII. Technical School	420	12th	57	57	0
XIII. Social Work Training Program[d]	12	12th	11	3	8
XIV. Teacher Training School (Harar)	278	12th	51	51	0
XV. Agriculture School (Ambo)	120	12th	29	29	0
Total secondary schools	3,350	.....	500	460	40
XVI. University College	420	3d and 4th	44	.....	.....
XVII. Engineering College	100	3d and 4th	31	.....	.....
XVIII. College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts (Alemaya)	172	3d and 4th	49	.....	.....
XIX. Haile Selassie I Military Academy (Harar)	138	3d[e]	38	.....	.....
XX. Public Health Officers Training Program (Gondar)	60	3d and 4th	38	.....	.....
Total colleges	890	.....	200	.....	.....

[a] These schools include all but five of the government postelementary schools which were offering full four-year programs in 1959. Schools I–IX are listed as "academic secondary schools"; X–XV as "special schools"; and XVI–XX as "institutions of higher learning." Unless otherwise indicated, they are located in Addis Ababa.

[b] The enrolment figures are for the academic year 1959–60, except for Tafari Makonnen School, where a preliminary version of the questionnaire was used during 1958–59. In schools which include elementary grades as well, the figures refer only to the secondary level enrolment. The total universe of the grades surveyed in these twenty schools was 1,150.

[c] A very small private school, attended by several Europeans as well as Ethiopians. The entire Ethiopian group of the two highest classes responded.

[d] A two-year program organized with the assistance of UNESCO. The students surveyed were the equivalent of secondary school seniors.

[e] The terminal year.

16. Mulugeta Wodajo, "Postwar Reform in Ethiopian Education," *Comparative Education Review*, II (February, 1959), 27.
17. Cf. William Shack, "Organization and Problems of Education in Ethiopia," *The Journal of Negro Education*, XXVIII (Fall, 1959), 405–20.
18. *Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross-national Study* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 9.

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19. Thus, an eighth-grade student in Manz explained the popularity of the Jimma Agricultural School by saying, "The boys all want to go there because it is run by the Americans, and a school run by Americans means that everything is done right—food and clothes are properly distributed, and so on."
20. Shack, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
21. In response to a question on their attitudes toward the priests, sixty juniors and seniors of Tafari Makonnen Secondary School replied as follows (1959): 40 per cent were unequivocally proclerical; 22 per cent were ambivalent, expressing awareness of both good and bad elements in the clergy; and 18 per cent were primarily anticlerical, calling the priests "incompetent," "opposed to modernization," and "not supported by the people." (The rest were no answers or noncommittal.)
22. Edith Lord, "The Impact of Education on Non-scientific Beliefs in Ethiopia," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XLVII, Second-Half (May, 1958), 339–54.
23. Cf. Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), chaps. vii and xiv.
24. Cf. chap. iii, p. 89, and note 19.
25. Lord, "The Impact of Education on Non-Scientific Beliefs," typescript version, pp. 6–7.
26. A sophisticated expression of this approach to Ethiopian painting has been published by an Ethiopian student in France. Cf. Berhanu Abbaba, "La peinture éthiopienne: point de vue d'un Éthiopien," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, II, No. 1 (1961), 160–65.
27. For a brief account of this historic event cf. Lipsky *et al.*, *Ethiopia* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1962), pp. 210–12.
28. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959).
29. *Diagnosis of Our Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), chap. iii.

CHAPTER 5: *The Old and New Elites*

1. C. Conti Rossini, "La regalità sacra in Abissinia," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, XXI (1948), 12–31.
2. A. Vasiliev, "Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII (1933), 67–77; *Justin the First* (Harvard, 1950), pp. 299–302.
3. A. Caquot, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie," *Annales d'Éthiopie*, II (1957), 205–19.
4. F. Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies*, ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. Huntingford (2 vols.; Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1961), I, 122.
5. "The Chronicle of the Emperor Zara Yaqob," *Ethiopia Observer*, V, No. 2 (1961), 153.
6. J. Varenbergh, *Studien zur äthiopischen Reichsordnung* (Strassburg, 1916), p. 3.
7. James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (5 vols.; Edinburgh, 1790), III, 237.

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9. Gebre-Wold Ingida-Worq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation," *Ethiopian Observer*, V, No. 4 (1962), 309–11.
10. Alvares, *op. cit.*, II, 445.
11. R. Pankhurst, "Status, Division of Labour and Employment in Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Ethiopia," *UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin*, II, No. 1 (1961), 30–34.
12. For an enumeration of many of these changes cf. S. Messing, "Changing Ethiopia," *Middle East Journal*, IX (Autumn, 1955), 413–32.
13. The sociological definition of elite assumed here is most fully articulated in S. F. Nadel, "The Concept of Social Elites," *International Social Science Bulletin*, VIII, No. 3 (1956), 413–24.
14. Bruce, *op. cit.*, III, 280.
15. *The Government of Ethiopia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), pp. 71–76.
16. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek* (London: Medici Society, 1922), p. 64.
17. Afevork, *Grammatica della lingua amarica* (Rome, 1905), p. 264.
18. W. E. Conzelman, ed., *Chronique de Galawdewos* (Paris, 1895), p. 149.
19. J. Baeteman, *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français* (Dire Dawa: Saint Lazare, 1929), p. 629.
20. Māhtama-Selassie Walda-Masqal, *Zekra Nagar* (Addis Ababa: Naṭsānat Press, 1942 E.C.), chap. xx.
21. W. Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia* (London, 1868), p. 139.
22. Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (Paris, 1868), pp. 374–75.
23. Lieutenant Collat, *L'Abyssinie actuelle* (Paris, 1906), p. 28.
24. Varenbergh, *op. cit.*; Gebre-Wold Ingida-Worq, *op. cit.*
25. Ignazio Guidi, ed. *Annales Iohannis I, Iyāsu I et Bakāffā* (Paris, 1903), pp. 144–51.
26. On the ranks and perquisites of dignitaries at the court of a *dajāzmātch* in the 1840's cf. d'Abaddie, *op. cit.*, pp. 336–37.
27. The order of precedence set under Iyāsu I is reproduced in Alvares, *op. cit.*, II, 560–61; that of the Ethiopic work *Ser'āta Mengest* in Varenbergh, *op. cit.*
28. Māhtama-Selassie, *op cit.*, chap. ii.
29. E. Almeida, "The History of High Ethiopia," in *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646*, ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. Huntingford (London: Hakluyt Society, 1954), pp. 72–73.
30. Plowden, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
31. Almeida, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
32. An autobiographical account of an instance of such nobility at the court of Menelik appears in Makonnen Endālkātchaw, *Malkām Bēta Sabotch* (Addis Ababa, 1949 E.C.).
33. Some of the dynamics of this process are described by an Ethiopian novelist in Rās Imru Haile Selassie, *Fitāwrāri Belāy* (Addis Ababa: Berhānennā

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Salām Press, 1948 E.C.). This has been translated by Tadesse Tamrat in *Ethiopian Observer*, V, No. 4, 342–60.

34. Cited in R. Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia* (London: Lalibela House, 1961), p. 168.
35. Cf. Lloyd Fallers, "Despotism, Status Culture, and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, II (October, 1959), 11–32.
36. Alvares, *op. cit.*, I, 17–22. Cf. R. Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–32.
37. E. Cerulli, "Punti di vista sulla storia dell'Etiopia," *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960), p. 8.
38. Plowden, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
39. B. Vèlat, "Une grande dignitaire de l'Église Éthiopienne," *Les Cahiers Coptes*, No. 4 (1953), pp. 13–20.
40. Alvares, *op. cit.*, II, 560; Varenbergh, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
41. On the secular attainments of an *aqābē sa'āt* cf. Bruce's vignette: "[He is] the third dignity of the church, and . . . the first religious officer in the palace. He had a very large revenue, and still a greater influence. He was a man exceedingly rich, and of the very worst life possible; though he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity, it was said he had at that time above seventy mistresses in Gondar. His way of seducing women was as extraordinary as the number seduced . . . when he had fixed his desires upon a woman, he forced her to comply, under pain of *excommunication*." *Op. cit.*, III, 201.
42. Plowden, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
43. Alvares, *op. cit.*, II, 354.
44. Assafā Gabra Māryām, *Enda Watatch Qaratch* (Addis Ababa: Berhānennā Salām Press, 1943 E.C.), p. 84.
45. E. Combes and M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie* (Paris, 1843), pp. 199–200.
46. C. H. Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home* (London: Sheldon Press, 1933), p. 113.
47. W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; London, 1844), II, 304.
48. Baeteman, *op. cit.*, p. 908.
49. E. Cerulli, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos," *Orientalia*, XII (1943), 249.
50. D'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
51. R. Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
52. C. Poncet, "A Voyage to Ethiopia," *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1949), p. 123.
53. D'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
54. Plowden, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
55. *Oriente moderno*, VII (1927), 39.
56. J. E. Baum, *Savage Abyssinia* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1927), pp. 40–41.

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113 57. *Oriente moderno, loc. cit.*
58. "La naissance d'une littérature imprimée en Amharique," *Journal Asiatique*, CCVI (1925), 348–63.
59. This mode of conceptualization has been stimulated and influenced by the theoretical discussions found in W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, Vol. II, Part IV, Introduction; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, chap. vii; and Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, rev. ed., chaps. iv and v.
60. John and Ruth Useem, *The Western-Educated Man in India* (New York: Dryden Press, 1955).
61. "Ka-ĭj Āyshāl Domā," *Voice of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa), September 16, 1957.
62. Cf. Edward Shils, *Political Development in the New States* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962), p. 7.
63. The conceptual scheme assumed here is articulated in Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in *Class, Status, and Power*, ed. S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953).
64. *The Ethiopian Herald* (Addis Ababa), March 21, 1960.
65. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1959.
66. As a possibility inherent in the situation of the developing nations, this alternative has been discussed by R. F. Behrendt, "The Emergence of New Elites and New Political Integration Forms and Their Influence on Economic Development," in *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology* (Louvain: International Sociological Association, 1962), pp. 3–32.
67. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

CHAPTER 6: *Orality and the Search for Leadership*

000 1. A formulation concerning Amhara "social character," however, is presented in chap. vii.
113 2. E. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (rev. ed., 1963; New York: Norton & Co., 1950), chap. ii.
3. Cf. W. Plowden's observation: "It is a saying in Abyssinia, that a chief or master is a child—signifying that it is his servants' duty to soothe him, to pet him, to advise him, to answer him, and to understand all his actions." *Travels in Abyssinia* (London, 1868), p. 61.
4. J. Baeteman, *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français* (Dire Dawa: Saint Lazare, 1929), pp. 643–46.
5. Afawarq Gabra Yesus, *Ṭobiyā* (Addis Ababa: Cooperative Education Press, 1958), p. 30.
6. Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (Paris, 1868), p. 41.
7. W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; London, 1844), II, 40.

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8. A. A. Brill, "Poetry as an Oral Outlet," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XVIII (October, 1931), 358.
9. W. E. Conzelman, trans., *Chronique de Galawdewos* (Paris, 1895), p. 121.
10. From an article in the *Tafari Makonnen Ensign* (Addis Ababa), April 12, 1951.
11. Carl O'Nell, "Manifest Orality, Hunger and Thirst in Dreams: A Cross-cultural Study of Oral Frustration" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1964). A fourth group in this study consisted of a sample of Muslim Nigerians who, because of their fasting at the time of Ramadan when the dreams were obtained, presented a significantly higher proportion of respondents with dreams showing manifest orality (55 per cent) than did the non-Muslim Nigerians. O'Nell hypothesized that the Ethiopians would reveal manifest orality with greater frequency than both the non-Muslim Nigerians and the Americans, and these hypotheses were both confirmed ($p < 0.005$ and $p < 0.001$, respectively).
12. Personal communication from Allan Hoben.
13. John Whiting and Irvin Child, *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-cultural Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 194.
14. This and a subsequent reference to folk tales is based on an unpublished analysis of Ethiopian folk tales originally collected by Russel G. Davis, formerly of AID/Ethiopia. The sample contains some Galla as well as Amhara folk tales, but these are not distinguished in the analysis. The author of that study, completely independent of the present author, arrived at a conclusion concerning Abyssinian personality that exactly parallels the formulations of this chapter: "In short I would say that the Abyssinian personality centers around the oral-receptive and oral-sadistic orientations with an ambivalent regressive variant."
15. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Life of Takla Haymanot, The Miracles of Takla Haymanot*, and *The Book of the Riches of Kings* (London: W. Griggs, 1906), p. 349.
16. D'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
17. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London: W. Griggs, 1900).
18. Assafā Gabra Māryām, *Enda Watatch Qaratch* (Addis Ababa: Berhānennā Salām Press, 1946 E.C.), p. 142.
19. *Tetāyaq* was outlawed, the author was told, because it led to betting on the participants, and because modern legal procedure requires that everything be written down.
20. See note 14 above.
21. Woodruff and Hoerman, "Nutrition of Infants and Preschool Children in Ethiopia," *Public Health Reports*, LXXV, No. 8, 728.
22. Cf. Erikson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

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CHAPTER 7: *Individualism and the Quest for Social Progress*

1. This is a theme that runs through a century of social theory from Henry Maine and Ferdinand Tönnies to Robert Redfield and Louis Wirth. The explicit discussion of this theme in terms of the concept of individualism was perhaps most pronounced in the writings of Georg Simmel. More recently, sociologists like Karl Mannheim and David Riesman have refined the argument by viewing modern individualism as a transitional phenomenon, midway between the communalism of traditional society and the collectivism and "other-direction" of advanced industrial society.
2. Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (Paris, 1868), pp. 72, 91, 114, 120.
3. Marcel Cohen, "Individu et société en Abyssinie," in *Cinquante Années de recherches* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1955).
4. A condition marked by the absence or loss of shared social norms. The concept was established in the literature of sociological theory by Émile Durkheim in *Suicide*.
5. W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; London, 1844), III, 12.
6. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (2 vols.; New York: Vintage Books, 1954), II, 104.
7. Georg Simmel, "Individualismus," in *Brücke und Tur*, ed. M. Susman and M. Landmann (Stuttgart: G. F. Koehler Verlag, 1957), pp. 251–59.
8. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Phaedon Press, 1951), p. 82.
9. *Tiqem* is thus comparable to the Italian notion of *interesse*, defined by Banfield as "material, short-run advantage for the individual," though the Amhara tend to emphasize increments of prestige as much as increments of income. Since Banfield's case is that of a peasant culture that has been eroded by industrialization of the larger society, and hence presents to some extent an instance of anomic individualism, his Montegrano is not strictly comparable to the Amhara. Even so, a comparison of the two cases may be instructive; cf. E. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).
10. Author's field notes.
11. J. Baeteman, *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français* (Dire Dawa: Saint Lazare, 1929), p. 288.
12. See quotation from Harris in chap. vi, p. 223.
13. See above, chap. iii, p. 83, and note 14.
14. Cf. Simon Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of Pennsylvania, 1957), p. 439.
15. Messing, "Ethiopian Folktales Ascribed to the Late Nineteenth Century Wit, Aläqa Gäbre-Hanna," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXX, No. 275 (January–March, 1957), 70.
16. Author's field notes; from an interview with an Amhara schoolteacher.

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17. On the permeation of Amhara social relationships by the demand for guarantors, cf. Giovani Masucci, *Il garante nelle consuetudini etiopiche* (Rome, 1941).
18. Wolf Leslau, "An Ethiopian Merchant's Argot," *Language*, XXV (1959), 22–28; "An Ethiopian Argot of People Possessed by a Spirit," *Africa*, XIX (1949), 204–12; "An Ethiopian Minstrel's Argot," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII (1952), 102–9.
19. Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara," p. 445.
20. Tilahoun Paulos, "Forms of Greeting and Other Signs of Respect in Ethiopia," *UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin*, No. 5 (1956), pp. 25–32.
21. Cf. J. I. Eadie, *An Amharic Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), pp. 39–46.
22. Mähtama-Selassie Walda-Masqal, *Amariññā Qenē* (Addis Ababa, 1948 E.C.), p. 53.
23. For an extended discussion of begging cf. Walter Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia* (London, 1868), pp. 404–8. On the student mendicants cf. Teshager Wube, "The Wandering Student," *UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin*, No. 9 (1959), pp. 52–60.
24. "Il est à noter que pratiquement chaque maître a sa méthode d'enseignement qui lui est propre et qu'il considère comme un veritable monopole." Abbé Bernard Vélat, "Les Debtara Éthiopiens," *Les Cahiers Coptes*, V (1954), 26.
25. On the Amhara military ethos and behavior during campaigns cf. Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 162, 203 ff.; Plowden, *op. cit.*, 51 ff.; L. Sambon, *L'esercito abissino* (Rome, 1896).
26. Tadesse Liban, "Tïnnïshu Lïjj" ("The Little Boy"), in *Maskarām* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Press), pp. 110–18.
27. "From the adults (children) take both ideas and hand-me-down objects that have been used, worn-out and discarded, for their play activities . . . for adults rarely produce a toy for children nor give them any new, unused object." Messing, "The Highland-Plateau Amhara," p. 435.
28. Cf. chap. iii, p. 62, and note 4.
29. "En Abyssinie," *La Géographie* (November–December, 1930), p. 10. Cf. also his *Silhouettes et Graffitti Abyssins* (Paris, 1933).
30. Eugen Mittwoch, "Die Angeblichen Abessinischen Philosophen des 17 Jahrhunderts," *Abessinische Studien*, ed. E. Mittwoch (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 1–18.
31. *The Oral Tradition, the Written Word, and the Screen Image* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1956), p. 13.
32. Cf. Enrico Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Milan: Nuova Accademia Editrice, 1956), chap. ii.
33. Thus Hans Jenny speaks of the Amhara's *erstarrte Kultur*, in *Äthiopien: Land im Aufbruch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1957), pp. 123–26; and Ernest Luther generalizes that "the Ethiopian people have shown themselves to be remarkably uncreative," in *Ethiopia Today* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), p. 36.

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34. A. Klingenheben, "Zur Amharischen Poesie," *Rassegna di studi etiopici,* XV (1959), 5–20.
35. Clyde Kluckhohn's statement that "Where dependence on memory exists, there seems to be an inevitable tendency to emphasize the correct perpetuation of the precious oral tradition," reflects, if the Amhara case is at all typical, an exaggerated view of the rigidity of the oral tradition that is shared by many students. *Mirror for Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), p. 30.
36. D'Abbadie, *op. cit.,* p. 313.
37. Stories with this theme numbered 27 per cent; the next highest category was only 9 per cent. The data are reported in Edith Lord, *Culture Patterns in Ethiopia* (Washington, D.C.: International Co-operation Administration, 1959), p. 28.
38. Cf. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Africa: The Politics of Independence* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 134.
39. Cf. Richard Pankhurst and Endreas Eshete, "Self-help in Ethiopia," *Ethiopia Observer,* II, No. 11 (December, 1958), 354–64.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 356.
41. Besides Pankhurst and Eshete, cf. Asfaw Damte, *"Ekub," UCAA Ethnological Society Bulletin,* No. 8 (1938), pp. 63–76.
42. Luther, *op. cit.,* p. 118.
43. On the inhibition of individuality as a generic problem among the new nations cf. Edward Shils, *Political Development in the New States* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962), pp. 37–38.
44. The classic response of the European mentality to this trait appears in Plowden's famous remark: "Once vanquish [the Abyssinians'] idea that they are perfect, that they are the favoured people on earth, and that nothing can be taught them, and they will be quick and intelligent to learn and to imitate"; *op. cit.,* p. 396.
45. William Seed, "Censorship in Ethiopia," *Manchester Guardian,* Oct. 7, 1954.

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